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the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *i'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi*). The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece).

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika,* evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e.* Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e.* As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena.* When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu.*

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe,* signifies has arrived.

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto,* was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu,* who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu.* Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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628 721 [302] tended in general to the whole tribe. The sign of a debt of revenge unpaid was the shaving of the head on one side, leaving a long lock hanging down upon the chest on the other. The lock was held together toward the lower section by a little cylinder of bone *(puo)*, a piece of bamboo (*puo kohe*), or a small tiki head carved out of human bone (*puo*), of the same form as the tiki used for holding together drum cords. According to Dordillon (9) pearl-shell was sometimes threaded in this lock of hair. At the great feast place of Pekia in Atu Ona, Hivo Oa, there is in the large platform before the one on which the chief's house stood, a pit into which was put the hair shaved from the heads of men that owed a duty of revenge. In Pekia the revenge victims were brought to this feast place.

The act of repaying a revenge debt was called *umu heana (umu,* oven; *heana,* human victims). If a man's brother were killed, he would either arouse the tribe himself or take the matter to the chief, who would send his warriors to seek a victim from the other tribe; or else the man might merely collect a group of friends and go raiding into the valley of the other tribe seeking any man, woman or child who could be killed and [266] brought home. Such revenge victims were always eaten, unless the *heana* were a child under three years of age. An infant victim was strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the sacred place, (*me'ae*) to be presented to the priest (*tau'a*) for the tribal god. The only persons who could not partake of the victim were the parents of the deceased person for whose revenge the *heana* was taken. To them the first captive was *tapu;* all others after the first they could, however, eat. Some informants say that women were not eaten, but this is contradicted by others and also by the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries.

[828] The eating of the revenge victim was based on the conception of the complete annihilation or absorption of his personality. *Tipi te'e* was a term applied to the following practice in connection with a victim seized to revenge the death of a fellow tribesman: a small bit of flesh of the victim was given to each member of the tribe and was eaten by the recipient (7). Such eating made the revenge complete.

ORGANIZED WARFARE

721 War might be a definitely organized and planned campaign, or a series of attacks on the part of a tribe or group of allied tribes; or it might be on a simpler scale, merely raiding from one valley into another. *He toua* signified organized war. When there was trouble between tribes and a solution of the difficulty without war seemed desirable, chiefs would send ambassadors, men who for one reason or another would be given safe conduct, to talk over the matter with the chief and his people.

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 765 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka,* cross; *ka'ahu ahi,* charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

● [302]

727 266 602 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke,* which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu,* which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods.

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims.

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries:

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te ʔi"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. 11, *E*.) Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'ifi'i* (*hi'hi'i*), *toave, tove'o,* or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu,* or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami putea*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami.* The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi.* These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito.* In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka,* old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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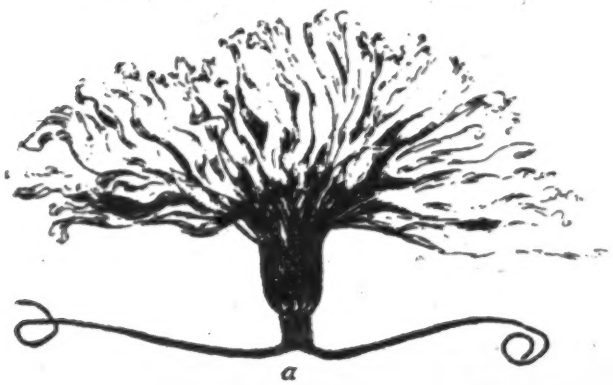

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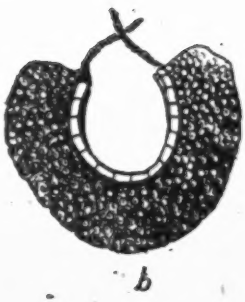

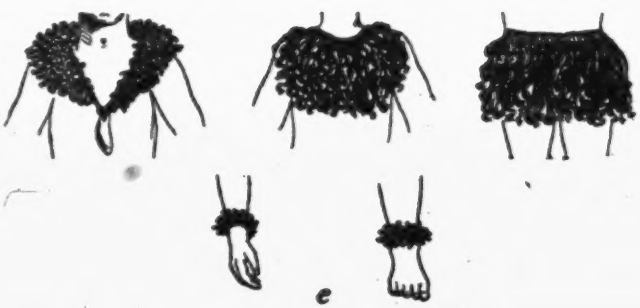

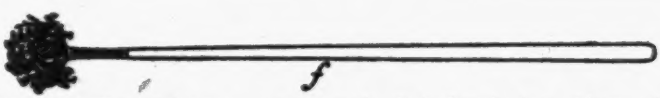

FIGURE 25.—Ornaments: *a*, ornaments made of the beard of an old man (*pouhina*); *b*, gorget made of wood and seed (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, 45, No. 2); *c*, a man's style of hair dressing called *toutike* (after Langsdorf—18, p. 119, pl. vii); *d*, feather ornament (*hei hu'a*); *e*, shoulder, waist, wrist, and ankle ornaments made of human hair (*ouoho*); *f*, chiefess's staff ornamented with human hair (*to'o to'o pio'o*).

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301 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. *Physalis peruvania.*
192 **Hei nano.** (?)
Hei kanioka. Cardiospermum.
Hei tia'e. Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia taitiensis*).
Hei meha. The bark of *Rubiaceae.*
Hei niou. Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.*
Hei vaovao. The blossoms of *Cordia sp.*
Hei hoi. *Discorea alata.*
Hei vei-uta. *Lycopodium phlegmaria.*

301 The *taetahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

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Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 220). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e kea* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putea*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e kea*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana, havara*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu, pahe'u,* and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know,

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combs were not used in ancient times. Dordillon (8) gives the following terms which supplement our information regarding modes of arranging the hair: *Ouoho tuetue, ouoho tukeevo,* and *ouoho tuke* meant hair fixed stiffly; *piama,* a head shaved in the form of a tonsure; *piveve,* to cut the hair in the form of a circle in front; *toua'e i te pā'e,* to let the hair down in front; *ponane,* hair simply tucked up without fastening; *koti'oti'o i te ouoho,* to cut the hair like a ladder [?]; *pa'e oioi,* a coiffure saturated with scented oil; *pohatae,* beard, or side whiskers; and *topetu,* a tuft of hair on a shaved head. The following should also be added: *ohovii,* curl of hair; *ouoho kaaputu,* curled hair (= *koputu ouoho, ouoho taputuputu, ouoho takaha*); and *poriri,* curl of hair on top the head (= *tapuaki*). Bleaching or dyeing of the hair was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, never practiced in the Marquesas.

ANOINTING, STAINING, AND PAINTING OF THE BODY

Bleaching of the skin was the universal practice of women and *ka'ioi* youths before festivals. This was accomplished in part by seclusion and avoidance of the sun but also by anointing the body with juices extracted from the leaves of the *kokuu* tree (?) or of the *papa* vine (*Phaseolus amoenus*). After such application during seven or eight days of seclusion the skin would be bleached white. The normal color returned immediately upon exposure to the sun. Women protected themselves from the sun with robes and leaf shades. According to Jardin (15, p. 41), *niou* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) leaves were pounded and used by women for skin bleaching. The root of *ena* (*Curcuma longa,* or amomum) some of it raw and some baked, was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make the body ointment or stain called *ena* or *eka.* The raw *ena,* covering the whole body, was the distinguishing mark of the youthful libertines called *ka'ioi* and of women at festivals. It was frequently smeared only on the face. The stain made from the baked root (*ena moa*) was forbidden to women everywhere and to all commoners on Ua Pou.

Pani was perfumed coconut oil, used for anointing the head and body, rubbing dead bodies, and for polishing wood and stone carvings. The oil was extracted from the coconut meat in two ways: by one method the milk was squeezed from coconut gratings, put in a vessel, and the oil separated out by putting hot stones in the bowl; or gratings of coconut meat were put in large vessels and exposed to the sun, which caused the oil to run out from the meat. Sweet-smelling flowers cut in small pieces and powdered sandal wood were added to the oil until they had soaked it all up. This mixture was then exposed to the sun for three or four

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days until the perfumed oil ran out from the flowers and powder. To this perfumed oil fresh coconut oil was added. The *pani* was then put away in small closed coconut containers or in bamboo joints closed at the end with a *fou* leaf tied tgihtly in place. Sandal wood (*puahi, Santalum freycinetianum*) was grated and mixed with coconut oil to make another kind of ointment called *poa panu*, which was used both on the body and head. *Huhe*, an ointment used to make brilliant the bodies of the living at festivals and of the dead on their biers, consisted of coconut oil, to which had been added a little *ena*, fruit of the *pu'a kokuu* (?), and sweet-scented flowers—in other words, it was common *pani* to which was added *ena* and *pu'u kokuu*.

A man and a woman each had to prepare his and her own coconut oil. It was believed that a man who used a woman's head oil would become blind (9). Sexual intercourse was *tapu* while oil was being made (18, p. 138).

Painting the body with white earth was a practice of old people at memorial festivals, the object being to exaggerate their decrepitude (4). On Hiva Oa I was told that younger men would sometimes do this at festivals to make themselves look like old men (*ha'a ko'oua*).

OTHER ADORNMENTS

Women dancers wore, tied to their fingers with coconut fiber, long white tail feathers of the tropic bird, the feathers projecting up from the backs of the fingers. Sometimes the white beard ornaments called *pavahina* were worn on the hands in this way, instead of the feathers. This mode of ornamentation was called *kihi*. Langsdorff (18, p. 158) states that six rings, ornamented with tail feathers of the tropic bird, "are put on each middle finger of the dancers." The feathers used for these ornaments were procured by catching birds on high rocks at night. The birds were never killed but, after the tail feathers had been pulled out, were allowed to go.

The fans (*tahi'i*) with elaborately carved handles (fig. 26, *a*) appear to have been used by both sexes, and to have been reserved as part of the dress or insignia of chiefs, chiefesses, and priests on ceremonial occasions. These were made by especial *tuhuna*. The woven part was sometimes plastered with white clay. The carved handles were made of ironwood or human bone polished with coconut oil. These elaborate fan handles were family heirlooms. Fans were made both of coconut leaf and pandanus.

The *kohe pe'a*, according to Dordillon, was an ornament consisting of long cock's plumes attached to the end of a stick. The *koke tata* is described as an aigrette of cock's plumes on the end of a piece of bamboo.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both men and
women were anointed and dyed with yellow *ena* and oil. They wore yellow *ti* leaves as girdles, and yellow *ti* leaves strung obliquely across the body from one shoulder, flowers in the ears, necklaces (*hei*) of flowers around the neck, and crowns of flowers on the head.

Arrived at a valley the party began to perform at the first house they came to, dancing and singing and inserting the names of the members of the family in their song. The family gave them a present for each name that was sung. In this way they proceeded up and about the valley, visiting every house. They ate wherever they happened to be at meal times. Usually the party slept at the house of the chief, but frequently they slept somewhere else. If a *hoki* party came to a valley seeking gifts, it was certain that inhabitants of the valley would return the compliment—it was the universal rule that an equal number of gifts must be given in return. This was a matter of pride with the valleys. It does not seem to have been so much a matter of rivalry and desire to outdo each other as of a strict squaring of accounts.

On Nuku Hiva a staff with hair and woven sennit (probably a *toko-toko pio'o*, see Personal Adornment) was always carried ahead of a *hoki* troupe as it proceeded. The prototype of the *hoki*, according to this informant, was the custom called *moko*, which consisted of parties going from one valley to others seeking gifts of food in preparation for a feast. There was, however, no singing or dancing connected with this ancient cutom. Each man seeking gifts carried on his shoulders a boy. (See Memorial Festivals.) This was the sign that it was a *moko*, and gifts and ornaments were given as demanded. In this custom, however, there was a squaring of accounts just as in the *hoki* on Hiva Oa. This Nuku Hiva informant claimed that the ancient term for *hoki* on that island was *haka eva'eva*. For this word Dordillon (8) gives this translation, "to sing and dance in honor of someone in order to obtain presents."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Drums were made of hollowed trunks of coconut or Cordia trees by professional drum makers. The head of the drum was made of a piece of shark's skin drawn taut by means of cords of sennit arranged after the manner shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 29, *f*.) Small tiki figures carved of human bone served to tighten the head by drawing together the two cords passing through each of them, in exactly the same way as the heads of modern drums are tightened.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation.

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs.

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of 648 554 about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and [30] her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was in- 648 formed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,
302 with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

304 Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The
[306] points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. refused the rest, that such precious things could not be accepted, till he had something to give me in return. He immediately sent on shore his canoe, which soon returned with fifty cocoa-nuts, for which, in addition to what I had before given, I made a present to the uncle of an axe and three knives. While this was going on, another of his majesty's relations came on board, and exchanged a large pig, for a cock and hen. 648

The king, during his stay, took such a liking to the large looking-glass in the cabin, that he could scarcely leave it for a moment; and as he stood before it, he made the most ridiculous distortions. For a green parrot which I had, he offered two large pigs; but I refused to part with it. However, to keep his majesty in good humour, I gave him a quantity of sugar, of which I knew he was extremely fond. Soon after breakfast, to my great surprise, our royal guest leaped overboard, without saying a word to any one, and swam on shore. This strange method of taking leave disconcerted me, and made me a little suspicious; but, being assured by our interpreter, Roberts, that it was agreeable to the custom of the country, my suspicions vanished. We observed, that of the immense number of people swimming round our vessel, not one paid the least attention to their king as he passed them, but continued what they were doing, uninterrupted by his presence. His attendants remained on board some time after his departure, and begged to be shaved, having been told by one of their countrymen, that the operation was much easier and more pleasant with a razor, than with their shells. [622] [302]

At one o'clock I put a *taboo*, or prohibition, upon further com-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the whole of what was served up was dispatched in an instant. His relish of the pancakes was no matter of surprise to me, being aware that savages in general, like children, are fond of sweet things the first time of tasting them; but when I saw him drink port wine, glass for glass, with us, I own I was astonished: he afterwards, however, felt the effects of it in their full force. 1804. May.

The next morning, I received from the queen a message, that if I would send my boat on shore, she would come with some of her relations to see me; adding, that a taboo being imposed on her, she was forbidden to go into a canoe, or to swim. I complied with this agreeable request immediately; and about noon I had the pleasure of seeing the queen, her daughter, and the Goddess of the Bay in my cabin. They remained with us a considerable time, and were regaled with tea, sweetmeats, and other delicacies. Our presents of knives, scissars, and looking-glasses, however, pleased them most, and especially the Goddess of the Bay, who was so enchanted with her reception, that she appeared unwilling to leave the ship. Our royal guests, on this occasion, were dressed in yellow cloth made of the bark of a particular tree, and had their bodies smeared with oil of cocoa-nut, mixed with a kind of yellow paint, which affected our olfactory nerves in no very agreeable way: but this could no more be dispensed with by a Marquesan woman, when full-dressed, than rouge and eau de Cologne by an European lady of fashion. The handsomest of my party was certainly the Goddess, whose name was Anataena. She was a daughter of the king of another bay in the island, called Houmé, and owed her title of divinity to her marriage. These personages having left us, I granted to other females the long desired permission to visit the ship and satisfy their curiosity. 14th.

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened. 291 [304]

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of 302 301 302

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men. 1804. May.

The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

Quiros (51) says that the Marquesans used adzes made from thick fish bones or shells. This is the only evidence of the occurrence of these implements in the Marquesas and as no examples are known, it seems probable that Quiros confused the Marquesas with some of the low coral islands visited on the same voyage.

Sharks' teeth, hafted in various ways, were formerly used as knives and carving tools, but no specimens seem to have survived and the methods of hafting have been forgotten by the present natives. According to Langsdorff (38, p. 175) the teeth from the lower jaw of the shark were used as substitutes for gimlets or awls, being fastened to wooden handles. Sharks' teeth, apparently unhafted, were also used as razors. The hair was gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots.

Very few bone tools appear to have been used in the Marquesas. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) mentions the use of bone awls. Narrow wedge-like implements of bone or hard wood were used to pound the feather caulking into the bow and stern seams of canoes. Bone knives are described on page 351.

A number of shell implements appear to have been employed in wood carving, although we have no information as to their form. The grooves in *toa* wood tapa beaters are said to have been cut with pearl shells ground to a keen edge, and the handles were shaped with a small black shell, called *mama*. Fleurieu (23, p. 135) says that the Marquesans used "pieces of shell of different shapes and sizes, sharp or toothed like a saw." Knives made from whole pearl shells ground to a sharp edge were used for a number of purposes. There appears to have been no clear distinction between these and the shell scrapers used in tapa making.

Rasps made from the skin of the shark or giant ray were used in shaping clubs and other objects made from the hard *toa* wood. They were made by wrapping the skin around a smooth stick while it was wet and soft. One end of the stick projected a few inches beyond the skin, forming the handle. (See Pl. LVI, *A*.) Fine shark skin, apparently not mounted, was used in polishing bowls and other wooden objects. Sections from the tail of the giant ray were also used as rasps, requiring no preparation other than drying. These tail rasps have continued in use until modern times for the grating of sandal wood, although recently they have been supplanted by files. The spines of the sting ray are said to have been hafted and used as saws.

Chisels edged with rats' teeth were formerly used by expert Marquesan artisans in the carving of hard stone. None of these implements have survived,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 [352] see p. 283.) According to Handy (personal correspondence) there was a kind of coarse mat, called *hupau*, which was used by poor people.

No pandanus mats have been made in the Marquesas for several years, and the information obtained in regard to the methods of manufacture was insufficient and sometimes contradictory.

The dry or half dead leaves appear to have been used. The base, midrib and thorny edges were cut away with a pearl shell scraper or knife of the sort used in scraping bark for tapa, leaving two long straight strips about two inches wide. According to one informant, these strips were then soaked in sea water for a few days, washed in fresh water, and dried in the sun. The extreme softness of some of the mats would seem to indicate that the dried strips were beaten or otherwise manipulated before weaving, but no information could be obtained on this point. Before weaving the broad prepared strips were split with a small stick like a needle into narrow sections which varied in width according to the degree of fineness of the contemplated mat. These strips were called *kau* (32). Marquesan mats appear to have been quite coarse as a rule, the width of the strips in all the specimens seen averaging three-eighths of an inch. The weaving was done entirely by women and the manufacture of some mats for special purposes was attended by ceremonial observances. According to one informant the work was done upon a sort of lap-board placed across the knees. Some mats were of single, others of double thickness, but the same methods were employed in making both, the double mats differing only in having each element made from two strips of the leaf laid one upon the other. The weave was a simple checkerwork, the warp and weft being indistinguishable and the strips running at an angle of forty-five degrees with the edges of the mat. Each element, as it reached the edge, was folded over and woven back into the mat at right angles to its former direction. A weft strip thus became, when turned and carried back, part of the warp. In one specimen, apparently a section cut from a large mat, the ends are finished by cutting off the ends of the warp strips and bending back and re weaving these of the weft strips in the manner just described. The sides of this mat are finished by the first method. In a second specimen the edges are finished in a more complicated manner which gives an ornamental effect. (See Pl. LXVI, *B*.) The exact technique can not be ascertained without injuring the specimen.

285 531 Marquesan mats were rarely if every decorated with woven patterns, but one specimen in the Bishop Museum (Pl. LXVI, *C*) is embroidered in simple overlay with thin strips made from the upper surface of the pandanus leaf and dyed brick red. The decoration consists of six narrow strips, each two elements wide, two of which are placed at either end of the mat as a border while the other four are arranged longitudinally at equal intervals, the outermost strips being about four inches within the sides of the mat. According to Handy (personal [302] correspondence) the cuttings of women's hair were sometimes saved and woven in tufts around the edges of mats.

285 In view of the scanty material available for study it is quite possible that mats of finer grade than those described were manufactured in ancient times, but the general inferiority of Marquesan mats is mentioned by various early visitors. Petit Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the mats were coarser and less ornamental than those of the people living further west, and the wife of one of the first European missionaries sent to the group from Hawaii mentions, in a letter

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close: but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
>
> The *pahke* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.) [291]

Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

302 In pre-European times the head was shaved with a shark's tooth, the hair being gathered in small bunches and the tooth sawn back and forth across it at the roots. Porter (49, p. 114) says that the hair was sometimes singed off with a fire brand. As it was important that the cuttings of the hair should not fall into the hands of an enemy who might use them for malevolent magic, the hair was usually cut in the bed of a stream or on the sea shore. In Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, it was customary for the relatives of a man killed in war to let their hair grow until accounts were squared by the capture of one of the enemy. Their hair was then cut at the public assembly place, the clippings being thrown into a special pit.

Many of the Marquesan men are naturally rather heavily bearded, but practically all are clean shaven or wear only a moustache. A number of methods of arranging the beard were formerly in vogue. Krusenstern (34, pp. 158-159) says the natives of Nuku Hiva usually shaved off their beards except for a small tuft on the chin. In describing the natives of the southern islands of the Marquesas group Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says:

> Those who wear their beards full length, and these are the greatest number, arrange them in different ways. The commonest is to part the beard in two tufts, shaving or plucking the chin, and letting the beard grow on either side. Many others let it all grow and separate it into locks, which they plait, or to which they attach the teeth of fish, human teeth, little pieces of bone, shells, or the colored glass beads which they get from Europeans. Some do not let the middle part grow. Finally, others shave it entirely.

[301] According to Handy the men usually plucked the beard, but many old men would let it grow in order to obtain hair for *pavahina*, ornaments worn on the head. This was usually done for the benefit of some relative, but a man wishing to make a *pavahina* might pay an old man to let his beard grow for the purpose.

Both men and women kept the hair liberally anointed with scented oil (*pani*).

303 The oil was obtained by scraping the flesh of an old coconut, wringing it out in a cloth, and adding chopped-up *tiare* flowers and sandal wood, grated by rubbing a piece of the wood, preferably the root, with a rasp made from the tail of the giant ray. The mixture was stirred until the flowers had absorbed all the oil and then left in the sun for three or four days until the oil separated once more. The oil was then drained off and kept in a bamboo, a fau leaf being tied over the open end. Before use, it was diluted with plain coconut oil.

Langsdorff (38, p. 175) describes a somewhat different method of making coconut oil, although it is evident that he refers to the plain oil and not to *pani*. He says:

> They scrape the kernels of a great number of coconuts, which they put upon banana leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh coconuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Pani was used only on the hair, the body being anointed with *pao panu*, coconut oil scented with sandalwood. 302

BODY PAINTING

Persons of both sexes painted the entire body yellow, but the use of other colors, or of painted designs, seems to have been unknown. The principal source of the pigment was the root of the turmeric which was cultivated for this purpose. In Hiva Oa this is called *cna*, but Dordillon gives the word *kotohi*, which he translates as "root of turmeric which is planted." The turmeric root was dried, grated, and mixed with coconut oil to form the paint. The natives still stain their faces and hands with the fresh root as a protection against insects. Several other plants seem to have been used for body painting, all of which yielded a yellow dye. Langsdorff (38, p. 114) also says that in Nuku Hiva both sexes painted themselves with the sap of *Thespesia populnea* mixed with coconut oil. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the juice of *Sinapis nigra* was used to stain the body. He also says that a much prized yellow dye, used for both body painting and tapa dyeing, was obtained from a species of amomum (*Curcuma longa*) which grew in a single locality—a place called Muake in the interior of Nuku Hiva. The roots of this plant were prepared by a secret process and the dye was sold in powdered form. The name which Jardin gives for this plant, *eka*, is the Nuku Hivan equivalent of the Hiva Oan word *cna*, but it seems certain that the *eka* root of Nuku Hiva was not the turmeric (*cna*). It was probably this substance which was an article of trade in ancient times, and which was so highly prized by the natives of Hiva Oa that they sent two large canoes to Nuku Hiva in exchange for it. 302 386 824 [249]

SKIN BLEACHING

White skin was greatly admired by the Marquesans, and it is mentioned as a beauty feature in some of their legends. They had discovered a process for temporarily bleaching the skin, so that immediately after treatment they were almost as light as southern Europeans. The earliest account of the process is given by Langsdorff (38 pp. 113-114), who says: 302

> The manner in which it [bleaching] is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different plants called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh* and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for four or five days the person undergoing the operation cannot leave the house; they then wash themselves well with fresh water which takes off the black sap and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white color. [824]

The account obtained by Handy differs somewhat from this. The body, and especially the face, was first painted with *cna* and coconut oil. Over this was smeared the juice from the crushed leaves of the *kokuu* tree or *papa* vine. This gave the skin a green color. The person undergoing the operation stayed in the

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

302 house for seven or eight days, at the end of which time the skin was bleached. Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says the natives of Nuku Hiva used the sap of the *nioi* (*Siegesbeckia orientalis*) as a skin bleach, rubbing the skin with the crushed leaves the day before a fête.

Skin bleaching seems to have been almost confined to the women, although Stewart (59, pp. 259-260) mentions a male dancer, whose skin had been bleached in this way, who was "almost as fair as any one of our number." The light color produced in this way lasted for only a short time, exposure to the sun causing the skin to reassume its normal brown tint.

SPECIAL COSTUMES

292 Special costumes were worn by priests in the performance of their duties. According to Handy the ceremonial dress of the *ta'ua* of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, was a full length robe of tapa made from the thick bark of old banyan trees. It covered the whole body and came to the ground, and was likened by the natives to a priest's cassock. It was called *kahu kohito*.

Stewart, writing of Nuku Hiva, says (59, pp. 271-272):

> The Tahunas have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf. A part of the stem, six to eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed around the head on each side and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends: it is then passed around the neck so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These articles are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office.

He describes the dress of a *ta'ua* whom he visited as follows (59, p. 328):

> His whole figure was enveloped in a large mantle of snow white tapa, or native cloth, over which a smaller one of fine scarlet kerseymere fell from his shoulders down the back —both being fastened by one large knot, resting on the chest in front. A double roll of fine white tapa encircled his forehead: while his hair, tied in two close knots, was confined on the crown by long bands of the same.

According to Handy the *taputoho* at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wore a long cloak of *ute* tapa, like a blanket, which was called *kahu kookoo*, and a peculiar dark colored headdress called *pae kohito*. This headdress was made from the bark of an old *ute* tree which was slightly pounded, and left rough. It was tied around the head and knotted behind with a piece hanging down.

Stewart (59, p. 288) describes the dress of a messenger bearing invitations to a funeral as follows:

> [He] was dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows, surmounted by a miter shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 . OX6 Marquesas OX6

292 237 321 variations, but we have no data as to the locality from which the examples in American museums were collected.

The construction of the feather ornaments attached to the *uhikana* is clearly shown in Plate LXXXI, *C*.

The base of the ornament is a straight stick 8 to 10 inches long, and about ½ an inch thick at the bottom and tapering to ¼ inch at the top. This is flattened on the sides. The feathers are laid on with their quills resting against the flat sides, and are held in place by a continuous wrapping of sennit, the work progressing from the top downward. The technique is thus essentially the same as that used in the *taevaha*. The lower ends of the ornaments are inserted between the shell and the band, and attached to the band by loops of sennit.

The *uhikana* was essentially a man's headdress, but does not seem to have been tapu to women. It was worn principally by warriors and dancers, and seems to have been used in all the islands of the group.

A sennit and pearl shell ornament of different type is preserved in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The nacre is in the form of small pear-shaped ovals, which are fastened point down upon a sennit band. The band appears to be plaited, and is certainly not woven as are the bands of *paekaha* and *uhikana*.

292 A peculiar object, probably a headdress, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *D*. It is made from small cords of twisted coconut fiber, and consists of a woven band from which hangs three rows of broad flat fringe.

Edge-Partington (20, p. 47) illustrates a head ornament consisting of a sennit band which bears, in the center of the front, a grotesque head, also woven of sennit, with nacre eyes and pointed teeth.

A few other headdresscs are mentioned by early writers. Forster (25, pp. 15-16) says:

"Some wore . . . . a circle from which several ranges of twisted strings of coconut coir about two inches long, either of the natural color or dyed black diverged round the head." Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) mentions a headdress made of "a ring of soft wood, from which a row of strings is suspended." An informant in Hiva Oa said that a string headdress called *paeha'a* was used in ancient times, but could give no details of its form. It seems probable that it belonged to one of the types already mentioned.

Fleurieu (23, p. 113) says: "They wear a sort of helmet visor covered with white fabric on which different figures are painted in black."

Aigrettes made from old men's beards were frequently worn with the *peue ei* and *paekaha*, and probably with other ornaments as well. They were called *pavahina*. They seem to have been used in all the islands of the group, and [302] are represented in most museum collections. The beards were usually those of old male relatives, but an old man who was not a relative might be paid to let his beard grow for the purpose. The owner of such an ornament can usually give

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This accomplished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina,* feast; *tuhi,* show; *tiki,* design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but because, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods. The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a cannibalistic orgy.

In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous ceremonial importance, casualties were not very high and the natives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of the *toa* rarely had more than four of five killings to their credit. Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into position.

Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kinsman had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe, all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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certain that there is less straight hair in the Marquesans than in Samoa or Tonga. In Samoa and Tonga reddish-brown hair was reported, but its presence was somewhat discounted by the fact that a custom of bleaching by the use of lime was reported. Handy found a fairly high percentage of reddish-brown hair in the Marquesas, but no such process to account for it. On this point he says:[8]

> You will note that we have frequently marked hair color both black and reddish-brown. This indicates hair of the type that is almost universal with them, which appears to be black unless one sees it so that the light comes through it, when it is seen to have a strong auburn or reddish-brown tinge. I have never found any evidences of the custom of bleaching hair in the Marquesas neither in modern nor in ancient times. There was formerly a bleaching of the skin, but this is not practised now. I am convinced that this russet color in the hair was indigenous to the Marquesans before the coming of the early explorers.

This reddish tint of the hair has been the basis for much discussion and speculation. It has been attributed to intentional bleaching, to the natural bleaching effect of sunlight and salt water or both, to intermixture with the whites, or more often as evidence of a Nordic origin of the Polynesians as a whole. Speaking of hair color Buck[9] says:

> The general colour is black, but brown and reddish hair occur. Certain tribes have been stated to have had more than their share of red hair, and in these tribes it is said to occur in certain families. . . Although amongst the Maoris the confusion in colour caused by the Samoan and Tongan custom of limeing the hair, does not exist, yet owing to the admixture of white blood, great care has to be exercised in recording cases of red or brown hair as being full Maori. . . There was only one case in the whole series (760 men) of reddish brown hair and that was in a full Maori. Contrary to expectations, his skin color was 18 on von Luschan's scale (18 is the darker prevailing color of the Maori).

In Hawaii the reddish-brown hair under discussion is often found. I have seen in Hawaii thousands of mixed-bloods no one of whom had exactly this type of hair. I can confirm Doctor Buck's statement that it occurs in family groups. In two families studied it had persisted for three generations at least. As a rule it does not seem to be accompanied by a diminution of iris pigment or skin pigment. In only one family was it accompanied by weak eyes and in that only in the younger members of the family. It occurs in both sexes. Reddish-brown hair apparently occurs throughout Polynesia and I have seen the same type of hair in Chinese and Japanese who otherwise were typical members of their race. While the condition is interesting and important it should not be allowed to have too much influence on the imagination. I recommend Doctor Buck's paper for interesting comments on the Maori vocabulary and tradition dealing with hair color, hair form, and skin pigment.

[8] Personal communication.
[9] Op. cit.

X 142
302
261

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THESE MEN ARE CHARACTERIZED BY DENSE MOUSTACHES AND A MODERATE BEARD. THE BEARDS ARE MODERATELY LONG, THE FACES HIGH AND THE NOSES RELATIVELY NARROW. THE SKINS ARE A LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN. THERE IS LITTLE PROGNATHISM AND THE CHINS ARE FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. NOS. 2, 6, 9, 14 AND 15 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF TYPE I. NOS. 7, 8, 10 AND 13 ARE EXAMPLES OF A THIRD TYPE CHARACTERIZED BY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 112]
[end plate 1]

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X 142
● 320
1N1

TYPE II—THE INDONESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, AND 3 WITH THEIR PROFILES IN NOS. 10 AND 15 ARE PROBABLY THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS TYPE. THEIR LIPS, NOSES, AND FACE PROPORTIONS ARE NOTABLE. THEIR SKINS ARE A DARKER BROWN THAN THAT OF THE POLYNESIANS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 119]

[end plate 2]

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X-M2
302
241

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 Cook Marquesas Cave

TYPE 1—POLYNESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THE HAIR OF THESE WOMEN FOR THE MOST PART IS STRAIGHT OR ONLY SLIGHTLY WAVY. THE THICKNESS OF THEIR LIPS IS MORE NOTICEABLE THAN IN THE MEN OF THIS TYPE. SOME OF THE WOMEN ARE OF MIXED BLOOD. NOS. 3, 6, 9 AND 15 ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLYNESIAN TYPE. NOS. 8 AND 12 HAVE VERY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 114]

[end plate 3]

XHQ
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IX

TYPE II—INDONESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, 4 AND 7, WITH THEIR PROFILES IN 11, 12, AND 13 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE. NONE OF THIS HAIR CAN BE CALLED CURLY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NO. 10, WHO HAS FRIZZLY HAIR, THIS TYPE IS CHARACTERIZED BY HAIR WITH A MODERATE WAVE. NO. 10 IS NEGROID IN APPEARANCE, BUT HAS A CEPHALIC INDEX OF 88.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 115]

[end plate 4]

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X M2
● 302
291
IX

MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES. SEVERAL OF THE WOMEN HAVE LONG HEADS, HIGH FACES, AND BROAD NOSES. NO. 9 HAS THE NEAREST APPROACH TO CURLY HAIR IN THE SERIES. NOS. 2, 5, 11 AND 13 MAY BE REPRESENTATIVES OF A THIRD TYPE WITH SHORT HEADS, NARROW FACES AND NARROW NOSES.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 116]

[end plate 5]

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X442
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M

TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS. NOS. 1 TO 10 ARE ONE-HALF CHINESE. NOS. 11 AND 12 ARE ONE-QUARTER WHITE AND ONE-QUARTER TAHITIAN. NOS. 13 AND 14 ARE ONE-HALF ENGLISH AND NUMBER 15 IS ONE-HALF SPANISH AND ONE-QUARTER FRENCH. WHERE CAUCASIAN BLOOD IS PRESENT IT IS USUALLY APPARENT.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 171]

[Col. plate]

/25 cont./ 864
of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the 603
vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in [856]
techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual
behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of 515
bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to [183]
body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large num- 302
ber of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise.
Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented
with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers them- [824]
selves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e
(Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower
of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used
for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume
and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's
solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such [439]
quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the
hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for 515
Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on
both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid
to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the
extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has
rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness
usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude
toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota --
your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious [578]
affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of [856]
vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are
emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circum- 881
cision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and
14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal
hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid,
as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating
circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as
a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [747]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."